

THE SETTLEMENT OF JEWS IN VIC: ORIGIN, PROVENANCE AND MOBILITY OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY (1231-1277)

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the study of the establishment of Jewish families in Vic in the early 13th century. Documents from the *Libri Judeorum*, along with other notarial records, shine light on the origin and consolidation of the Jewish community of Vic and the development of the Jewish quarter or *call*.¹

KEY WORDS

Catalan Judaism, Vic, Notarial Records, 13th Century, *Libri Iudeorum*.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Cataloniae Iudaismus, Vicus, Notariorum Regesta, Saeculum XIII, Libri Iudaeorum.

1. Used abbreviations: ABEV, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic; ACF, Arxiu de la Cúria Fumada; AMV, Arxiu Municipal de Vic.

1. Introduction

During the 13th and 14th centuries, a Jewish community settled in the city of Vic. Although it was never a large community, they had a major impact in the region and have left us an important documentary and cultural legacy. Thanks to the documents preserved in the Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic (ABEV), we can follow the evolution of this group, a key part of the history of Vic for nearly two hundred years.

Moreover, the 13th century saw the development of Catalan Notaries, and the ABEV preserved notarial records from that early period. The generic name of *Manual* refers to common notarial copies of the originals that were given to the interested parties, which contain a basic outline of the legal document. The notary's office in Vic, along with Manresa, is one which retains older books from as far back as the 13th century. The first of these books kept in the ABEV is from 1230 and was the first of a series that began in the early 13th century and continued, uninterruptedly, until the 20th century. As the institution evolved, manuals became more specialized and grouped by type (wills, marriage contracts, inventories...) and one appeared documenting the contract where Jews were involved. This is called *Liber Judeorum*, a unique and singular typology. This series is important for its size (26 books) and their continuity (covers the period from 1264 to 1354 almost continuously) within Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic.

The studies of the Jewish community of Vic have generally been made from the *Libri Juderum*. These books, however, only began to be written in the second half of the 13th century, when the community was already firmly established in the town. To find the origin of Jews in the town, we should consult the notary manuals.

This study uses the notarial documents —general books and first *Liber Judeorum*— from the first reference, of a Jew, in the first manual (1231) until 1277, which was the year of the construction of the synagogue, by this time the Jewish community was visible and already consolidated within the wider society.²

2. Vic, a city expanding in the 13th century

Vic is located in central Catalonia on the Plain of Vic. It is surrounded by mountains and lies 69 km north of Barcelona and 60 km west of Girona, cities where the Jewish population was important.

The city is situated in an historical crossroad of major routes and is well connected with the neighbouring towns through a network of local roads. In the Middle Ages the roads followed the natural courses of rivers: The River Congost in the south, and the River Ter in the north. The main communications were through the old Roman

2. Llop, Irene. *L'aljama de jueus de Vic al segle XIII. Orígens i consolidació de l'aljama (1231-1315)*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona (PhD Dissertation), 2006.



road in medieval times, known as *strata Francisca* or way to France. The local road network linking Vic with neighbouring towns, separated by five or six kilometres, radiates from the centre in Vic.

When the Jews settled in Vic, the city experienced an economic, demographic and urban expansion. In the thirteenth century it was an important centre for several reasons: It was the head of the diocese, a renowned cultural focus point and was the economic and commercial centre as well as the most important market in the area. In the 10th century, at the time the city was rebuilt, the count gave to a viscount a castle —constructed on the ruins of a Roman Temple— for the newly formed county of Ausona. Otherwise, the centre of the church was established south of the castle, on the outskirts of the Roman City (*vicus*).³ A double town was created, and the dual jurisdiction —the Bishop part and the Lord of Montcada's part— was a reality. Each part received census and taxes, and from the 12th century began the struggles and rivalries, especially about income from the Square of Quintana.⁴ The duality of the jurisdiction has economic, legal and social effects. In relation to the economic effects there were two markets in Vic, called Mercadal and Quintana; the legal effects of this situation were that there were two councils. On the other hand, the social effects were determined by the fact that Vic's population lived in one or another jurisdiction.⁵ This situation changed in the year 1315, when Bishop Berenguer ça Guardia gave the Episcopal rights to King Jaume II and later gave him the privilege of setting up a permanent and stable municipal government formed by three councillors and twenty juries.⁶ It was then that Vic received the title of *city*, although in some documents it was mentioned as a city as early as the end of the thirteenth century. Infighting between officials, however, continued until 1450 when King Alfons the Magnanimous bought the other part of the city and afterwards Vic remained under royal jurisdiction.⁷

The city constantly grew throughout the century. The three centres of Vic were the Castle of Montcada (built on top of the Roman temple), the Cathedral (near the river, in the lower part) and the market (in the west). The town was surrounded by walls with seven Gates (Portals of Queralt, Montcada, Santa Eulalia, Manlleu, Gurb, Malloles and D'en Teixidor). These gates were the origin of the radial roads. In the mid-thirteenth century expansion outside these walls took place, and the growth of

3. "In the 10th century, the designation *vicus* came to be applied to the entire town, a process completed in the 13th century, while the county continued to be known *Ausona*." Freedman, Paul. *Diocese of Vic: Tradition and Regeneration in Medieval Catalonia*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983: 7-8.

4. After the death of Guillem Ramon de Montcada during the conquest of Mallorca (1228), the rights of leadership of the city of Vic passed to his widow Garsenda, who was the daughter of Prince Alfons of Aragon. These rights include the rights to the Square of Quintana. Both his heir, Gaston VII de Bearn, and the bishops of Vic (Bernat Calbó, 1234-1243 and Bernat de Mur, 1243-1264) claimed their rights, so that these disputes were extended during the thirteenth century.

5. Ollich, Imma. *Camp i ciutat a la Catalunya del segle XIII*. Vic: Eumo Editorial, 1988: 30-32.

6. Duran, Juan. *El régimen municipal de Vich anterior al decreto de Nueva Planta*. Vic: Patronat d'Estudis Ausonencs, 1957: 75-77.

7. Junyent, Eduard. *Jurisdicció i privilegis de la ciutat de Vic*. Vic: Patronat d'Estudis Ausonencs, 1969: 133-138.



the city, during this century, was full of difficulties. They built new neighbourhoods outside the walls: Santa Eulàlia freehold, to the east county town, probably the space occupied by the Roman city, and Les Clotes, between Queralt Bridge and the suburb of Santa Eulalia, close to the river Meder where the limers and tanners worked; also there was a Franciscan convent in the suburb of San Francesc. The urban expansion outside the walls was accompanied by the creation of new streets (St. John and St. Peter). From 1274 the King James I rebuilt the old road to Barcelona and put in a new bridge, so that from then on, Vic was entered by means of St. Peter and St. Francis street.⁸

Vic was also involved in the expansion of trade that Catalonia experienced in the thirteenth century. The market in Vic was very important locally, especially because of its proximity to the city and the countryside, it was also very active in international trade. This commerce was not in the hands of the Jews, but controlled by a group of bourgeois. The Market traders families —as Mercadal, Espanyol or Cloquer— became rich from their commercial activities. This expansion was not only commercial, because also military and urban families gained wealth from this international trade, land speculation and local activities such as loan income.

Relations with Mallorca and Valencia began to develop from the time of the conquest. People from Vic took part in this conquest, and some settled in these areas. Bernat and Tomas Espanyol had an *alqueria* in Mallorca, and Bernat hired a family from Vic to work there in 1233. Also in Valencia Guillem de Vic had four butcher's shops in Gandia's Square.

In medieval Vic artisans played an important role. The leather workers were one of the most important, and also ironsmiths, stone masons and carpenters for construction industry. Wool, wheat, meat, jewellery, painting and pottery workers were also important.⁹

Vic is an early example of urban society being represented by townsmen government. Already in 1138 the first corporate action took place by elite men of Vic. Bishop Ramon answered the entreaties of the bourgeois of Vic for a prohibition on foreign merchants wishing to deal in cut woollen cloth or red dye in the city and market of Vic, exclusively so that no outsider could sell these clothes, fabrics or bundles. At that moment, the Mercadal was relevant enough to attract over merchants to compete, reason why the petition of the *burgenses* also shows that the volume of imported cloth was such as to place the market of Vic above the rank of a merely local trading center.¹⁰ It shows the evolution of the bourgeois mentality, this class spirit and their activity in international trade.¹¹ Between 1175 and 1185 there was an attempt to create an independent local government separate from the Bishop. Vic men refused to pay *firmançia* to the Bishop and some not only paid, but chose their own representatives (*consuls*). This position was a clear challenge to

8. Ollich, Imma. *Camp i ciutat...*: 25.

9. Ollich, Imma. *Camp i ciutat...*: 39-41.

10. Freedman, Paul. *Diocese of Vic...*: 82.

11. Garcia, Arcadio. "Els Espanyol, una família burgesa vigatana del segle XIII". *Ausa*, 6 (1968-1971): 165-185.



the Episcopal power and expressed the desire for a new form of government. The church could not protect citizens who complained about the presence of thieves and violence, and the king did not intervene in these matters. The 1198 compromise took place between the urban leaders and the bishop of Vic.¹² The effort by inhabitants of Vic to organize themselves was in defiance of their lord.¹³

At that time there was also demographic growth, not only because of the high natural population growth, but also due to the arrival of newcomers from the countryside. It is in this context that a group with a distinctive identity and religion, the Jews, fixed their residence in the city.

While there was this commercial vitality, social and economic changes, there was also strong insecurity among the inhabitants. Disputes between the two lords of Vic continued throughout the century, and attacks against people and property increased.¹⁴

3. The origin of the establishment of Jews in Vic

3.1 The designation of the Jews in early notarial documents

The *Libri Iudeorum* documentation quoted 416 Jewish people, of which 318 are men (76,44%) and 98, women (23,55%). The first point that should be clarified is the use of Catalan names. The use of first names in vernacular language was extended, and they are not the translation of Hebrew names.¹⁵

12. Freedman, Paul. "Un règim consular en el Vic del segle XII". *Ausa*, 9 (1980): 1-6.

13. Freedman, Paul. "An unsuccessful attempt at urban organization in twelfth-century Catalonia". *Speculum*, 54/3 (1979): 490-491.

14. Around 1280 there was a raid by people from Barcelona, and a year later, the houses of Canon Ramon Merlès were also raided. In the 1290's, factions of the Cruïlles and Altarriba continued creating problems. In 1293, Prince Pere commanded Ramon de Benages, Bernadí de Centelles, Pere de Santa Eugenia and Guillem de Brull not to enter Vic with weapons, and they were banned from helping people who had injured anyone in the area of Montcada. In March 1295, people representing the Bishop of Vic injured people from Montcada's wheat, and ransacked the house of Pau Ferrer de Montcada; the Prince ordered an inquiry against *malfectors*. Carreras Candi, Francesc. "Notes dotzencentistes d'Ausona (Vich)". *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 6 (1910): 6-32, 75-83, 123-141; Carreras Candi, Francesc. *Miscelánea Histórica Catalana. Serie II*, Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de Caridad, 1918: 361-463.

15. Despite widespread beliefs even among historians, the first names in vernacular language do not correspond to their liturgical translation, although it seems: Bondia and Bonjorn- Yom Tov, Vides-Hayyim, or Deuslosal- Yehoshua, do not allow raising the phenomenon to the category of law. Riera, Jaume. "Moixè ben Nahman, Bonastruc de Porta". *Tamid: Revista Catalana Anual d'Estudis Hebraics*, 10 (2014): 14.



Table 1. Most common first names of Jewish men and women in Vic (1231-1315).

Jewish men	Jewish women
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Astruc • Vidal • Issac • Jucef • Salomó 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Goig • Astruga • Regina • Bonadona • Bonafilla

The first names of Jewish men and women are in vernacular, and many of them use the prefix Bon- or Bona- (Bonmacip, Bonjueu, Bonadona). The use of diminutives is usual in names as Issaac-Çarch, and some Jews were known by their diminutive. For Jewish woman, diminutives are large (Mirona, Astrugona, Drudona, Vidalona). Alongside these names, we know that at least three Jews had an alias: Bonmacip, alias *Naman*, Vidal Jucef *qui in abrayco vocatur Pinal* and his father-in-law Vidal Salandí, *alias vocatur in ebrayco Aletzar Levi*.

In regard to women, the name of the Jewish woman is always associated with a male character specifying their status as daughter, wife or widow; when multiple marriages, the wife is also named according to their changing situation. In the case of Regina Cabrita and Bonafilla Pesada they feminized the surname of the father and husbands, respectively (Cabrit and Pesat).¹⁶

The most common system of designation of Jewish man in Catalonia in the Middle Ages is the patronymic. The name of a man is formed by his name and his father's name. Therefore, the son of Vidal Jucef is called Salomó Vidal. Another system consists in the transmission of a surname.¹⁷ In the thirteenth century, not all families adopted surnames, and within families, not all members used them. This surname is often the name of the first member of the family to become prominent (Vidal), or could be referred to their work (Camporis or Argenter); another type of surnames are geographic¹⁸ and then it could indicate the place of origin of the family:

- Catalonia: Besalú, Cardona, Castellbo, Belcaire, Camprodon, Manresa, Puigcerdà, La Bibal, Palafolls, Caldes de Montbui, Torroella, Barcelona, Girona, Cervera.
- Crown of Aragon: Mallorca, Tolosa, Montpeller, Perpinyà, Narbona.
- Cordoví, Hispania, Messina, Navarra.

Some families transmit this topographic surname for one or two generations, and after they adopt the name of the father: Astruc de Mallorca is the father of Jucef

16. Llop, Irene. *L'aljama de jueus de Vic...*: 52-54.

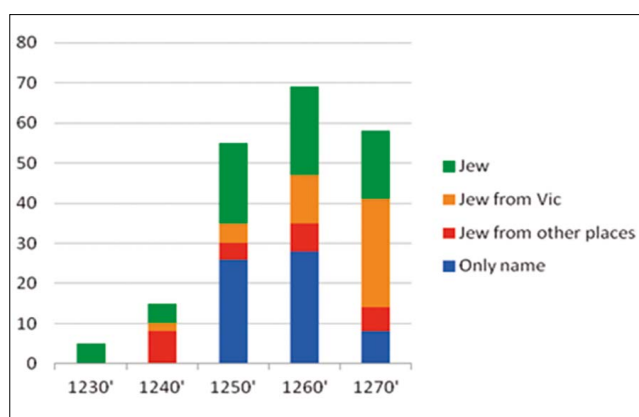
17. Elka Klein point out that Barcelona's Jews took surnames before the 13th century, and before then, many of them used patronymics. Klein, Elka. *Jews, Christian Society and Royal Power in Medieval Barcelona*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2006: 1-26.

18. Ollich, Imma. "Aspectes econòmics de l'activitat dels jueus a Vic, segons els 'Libri Iudeorum' (1266-1278)". *Miscel·lània de Textos Medievals*, 3 (1985): 1-118.



and Bonjueu de Mallorca, who stopped transmitting this name. Other surnames are clearly established Jewish families in the most important Jewish quarters, such as Girona (Aninai, Caravida, Cabrit).

Notarized documentation allows us to know the process of establishment of Jews in Vic from limited data, since the first notary records not always indicate that a person is neither Jewish origin. The analysis of how the Jews are called in notarial records from the first reference in 1231 until 1277 shine light to this process.¹⁹ The following graph illustrates this, and it is found that some of them are mentioned only by their names (without any reference to their religion), and others are described as Jews, mentioning its place of origin or not.



GRAPH 1. MENTIONS OF THE JEWS IN NOTARIAL RECORDS (1231-1277).

One of the main problem any historian faces when trying to approach the Jewish demography is the quality of the sources. The available documentary sources, the evolution of the community, the mobility of the population... are factors that difficult the assessment of the number of people who were part of the Jewish community at each stage.

From the first written evidence we have on Jewish activity in Vic until 1260, the establishment of Jews was discreet and constant. Certainly, the couple Regina Cabrita and Bonastruc Satorra are the only documented until 1250. From this date on and in a period of 10 years the following people are considered from Vic: Astruc de Mallorca and David Campsoris, the heads of two major families, whose children are also present in documentation without mentioning their place of residence, and also

19. Llop, Irene. "Aportacions a l'estudi de l'aljama de jueus de Vic al segle XIII". *Ausa*, 152 (2003): 143-150.



the family members of Manresa and the couple Astruc Argenter and Goig. Therefore, three families certainly had settled in Vic (Bonastruc, David Canviador and Astruc de Mallorca). Astruc de Manresa is first mentioned being from Vic in 1268. Considering that it is possible the number of roughly 3.000 inhabitants in Vic at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the percentage of Jewish population is very low.²⁰

In 1277, at the end of the analyzed period the Jews involved in purchasing a place to set up the synagogue were all of them heads of all the documented Jewish families: David Campsoris, his sons Llobell, Mossons, Astrugó and Bonjueu, Astruc son of Isaac de Manresa, Bonmacip, Proençal, Vidal Duran, Jucef de Mallorca, Eretó, Vidal de Cardona, Bonhome Satorra, Vidal de Camprodon, Vidal son of Maimó de Manresa. The children of the families of the previous stage were already married and their families had been mostly in Vic. These 15 families were the Jewish community of Vic, even if we do not know in which jurisdiction they lived. To these families we should add some Jews installed temporarily in the city such as Astruc and Bonjuà Cap.

Table 2. List of Jews Vic in chronological order of appearance in documentation until 1277.

Bonastruc	1240	Bonjueu, David Canviador's son	1259
Astruc de Mallorca	1242	Preciosa, Jucef de Mallorca's wife	1262
Bellaire	1242	Jucef de Mallorca	1262
David Canviador	1244	Proençal de Girona	1262
Bonastruc Satorra	1244	Samuel, Astruc Argenter's son	1264
Regina Cabrita, B. Satorra's wife	1244	Bonafilla, A. of Mallorca's daughter	1264
Issac de Manresa	1248	Jucef Pesat	1264
Bonmacip	1250	Regina, David Canviador's daughter	1266
Bon issac, Bonastruc's son	1250	Regina, Bonmacip's wife	1266
Goig, David Canviador's wife	1250	Bonafilla, Jucef Pesat's wife	1266
Dolça, Llobell Cerç's wife	1250	Astruc Caravida	1266
Astruc de Manresa	1251	Astruga, Astruc de Mallorca's wife	1267
Astruga, Issac de Manresa's wife	1252	Salomó Pesat	1267
Astruc Argenter	1252	Vidal Duran	1267
Sulam	1252	Goig, Mossons's wife	1268
Astruc de Hispania	1252	Jucef Salomó Pesat	1268
Ester, Eretó's wife	1252	Mossé	1268
Astruga, Canviador's daughter	1252	Bonhome	1271
Llobell Cerç	1252	Goig, Bonhome's wife	1271
Goig, Astruc Argenter's wife	1252	Vidal de Camprodon	1276
Maimó de Manresa	1253	Vidal, Vidal de Camprodon's son	1276
Mossons	1254	Astruc de Camprodon	1276
Eretó	1254	(...) son of the deceased I. de Manresa	1277
Dolça, Eretó's wife	1254	Vidal de Cardona	1277
Astruc David	1259		

20. Junyent, Eduard. *Jurisdicció i privilegis...*: 80.



3.2 The Jews of Vic in the urban space: private houses

The information of the thirteenth century at the moment of the arrival and consolidation of the Jewish community of Vic point out that in the first decades of Jewish presence in the town, Christians rented them houses in different points of the town. However, at the end of the century (and especially in the fourteenth century) the Jewish population was located in the *carrer d'en Guiu*, which became the centre of the Jewish quarter or *call*. The quarter was not exclusively inhabited by Jews, but Jewish presence was very strong.²¹ Rental documents are one of the documental typologies than can clarify this point. The houses where Jews lived were not different from Christians', because Jews lived in houses that Christians rented to them.

The Jewish quarter of Vic was not immutable. Jews who settled in the town before 1250 were not numerous, and the consolidation of the community and the arrival of Jews from other towns grew the number of Jews in Vic and also their *call*.

In the case of Vic, Jews settled between the cathedral and the castle of Montcada, both of them stately centres of power. They lived very near the line dividing the two jurisdictions of the city. The fact that part of the Jewish quarter was under the jurisdiction of Montcada and the other under the bishop's has important effects, as it implies that within the same community there were Jews depending of the Bishop, and others of the Lord of Montcada.

Jewish purchases or rentals of houses among Jews have not been recorded in 13th century. The data provided by 18 documents located in the 13th century provides information about the Christian tenant, the Jew that rents, a brief description of the house or the place, where this is located, its price and the deadline establishing the rent.²² The description of the house itself is minimal. As the rest of houses in Vic, they were small houses, just downstairs and upstairs, with porches, courtyards and orchards.

The oldest reference of a rent is as far as 1252. On that year, Guillem Llorenç and his wife Brunissenda rented houses in Mercadal to Regina Cabrita (wife of Bonastruc Satorra) for 17 solidos 6 d. At the end of the same year, Brunissenda and his brother rented to Bonastruc a house with shutter, *cortal* and workroom in Mercadal for 36 solidos. The following year, Berenguer de Posa and his wife Brunissenda rented a house in Vic under Montcada's jurisdiction to David Canviador and Goig (his wife and sister of Regina) for 100 solidos. Prices were fixed in *monete barchinonense de duplo*, the official currency between 1222 and 1257, when it was replaced by *monete de terno*. The solidos *de terno* were the basis of the Catalan monetary system and was almost the only currency used during the second half of the 13th century.

21. The documentation of the 13th century only refers to the Jewish quarter of Girona and Barcelona. Yet until the 14th century the expression *callis vicensis* is not used, this designation continued being used after the disappearance of the *aljama*. 7 June 1572. AMV, Llibre de Privilegis XV. f. 283; Junyent, Eduard. *Jurisdicció i privilegis...*: 292.

22. See Documentary Annex 1. Only 3 of these documents are registered in the period between 1231 and 1277: ABEV, ACF-5, f. 153r; ABEV, ACF-6, f. 52v; ACF-6, f. 134v.



These Jewish couples were the first Jews settled in Vic and they were located in the market of the city and, all of them, in Montcada jurisdiction.

Renters were Christians who lived in Vic. Berenguer de Posa and his wife were not usual debtors of the Jews of Vic, and the 100 solidos rental is the highest price paid for a house to rent in 13th century. Guillem Llorenç and his wife were well known for the Jewish community. In 1253, Astruc de Mallorca lent her wife 12 solidos and 3 and a half *quartera* of oat; all the harvest of Sant Pere's field was the loan guarantee.²³ In 1255, Goig, wife of David Canviador gave her 55 solidos.²⁴ Later on, in 1272, she asked a loan to Jucef de Mallorca and his wife Preciosa.²⁵ At the end of that year, Astruga, wife of Astruc de Mallorca, lent 67 solidos to Brunissenda and Guillem Illa, who gave a white-haired nag as a guarantee.²⁶ Furthermore, in 1265 Brunissenda Llorenç acquitted Llobell Cerç, Jew from Vic, by some words (*ratione verborum*).²⁷ When she died, her executors —Bernat de Mur and Ferrer Illa— rented a house with an orchard except the workroom in Montcada jurisdiction to Llobell Cerç. The workroom was an important condition for the house to return the debt owed by Brunissenda.²⁸ In 1284, the executors rented to Jucef de Mallorca houses under Montcada jurisdiction, nearby houses of Roquet, for four years.²⁹ This document also provide an unusual information about the conditions of the contract: the tenant may not be removed from the houses because of higher rent, but according to the custom of the city of Vic, and if he check out words, to preserve the houses or by commandment of the *comunis* of Vic, the expenses would be paid.³⁰ The same day, the executors made the calculation of debts: in one month, Jucef and Preciosa would be paid with 170 solidos, and the workroom was offered as a guarantee.³¹

The findings suggests that these rental contracts can be hidden loans. Subsequently rentals seem to confirm this idea.³² The fact that those who make the rent were executors or attorneys, could indicate the payment of debts on the part of the deceased or the represented person. These documents record the name of same streets: Bernat Gayol, Calcinera, Peregrí, Hospital de Jerusalem, Sant Joan de Jerusalem, all of them in Montcada's part.

The loans, which at that time were the 85% of the notarial records, provides indirect information about the houses where Jews live. Sometimes the debtors gave

23. ABEV, ACF-6, f. 90v.

24. ABEV, ACF-5, f. 215r.

25. ABEV, ACF-4586, f. 6v.

26. ABEV, ACF-4585, f. 14r.

27. ABEV, ACF-4583, f. 1v. See Documentary Annex 3.

28. ABEV, ACF-4586, 107v (4 July 1280).

29. ABEV, ACF-4588, f. 4r. (31 January 1284).

30. Corbella, Ramon. *L'aljama de jueus de Vic...*: 212-213.

31. ABEV, ACF-4588, f. 4v.

32. Jaume de Pou, who rented a house in Hospital de Jerusalem street, recognized a duty of 66 solidos to Goig, wife of Gràcia Cap (ABEV, ACF-4591, f. 14r), Guillem Ramon de Terrers agreed that Sento Ayo could live or rent the house in the same street (ABEV, ACF-4590, f. 45r).

their homes as a guarantee,³³ then the house only goes to Jewish ownership if at the expiration of the time limit, the money had not been refunded; occasionally, there is a mention of a Jew living in a house. But this information is not to be found until the end of the century.³⁴

The location of a *mezuzah* hole in a reused stone implies the identification of the first Jewish element unequivocally of a Jewish house in Vic.³⁵

3.3 The Jews of Vic in the urban space: the public place

The Jewish community needs public spaces to keep a Jewish life. In the case of Vic, the references to the synagogue and cemetery allow us to see that even though existing and being central to community and everyday life, they are not frequent in the documentation. Unfortunately, the first reference to a cemetery dates from the 14th century, so we do not know where these Jews were buried before.

When a community had the minimum number of 10 adult males (*minyan*) to start community prayer and certain rituals, they had an oratory for the prayer, that could be public or private. In the case of private oratories, they used to be temporary and the documents can be referred to as a synagogue while the public were, also, the place of public meeting.³⁶ This difference between public and private spaces for Jewish worship is important.

A document from 1265 states that Llobell Cerç, Jew of Vic, was insulting Bonmacip, son of Bonastruc of Bonisaac—and his cousin—in the synagogue.³⁷ This new is interesting because is the first reference to a synagogue, and because documents have not provide much information about internal relations of the community, and this is an exception.

It is quite possible that this was a discussion in a private oratory. In the mid-13th century, the community was consolidated but still not very numerous. Even so, there was a *minyan* and had a place even if it was private to celebrate worship and Jewish rituals.

The first reference to the location of the synagogue of the Jews in Vic is dated from 19 August 1277.³⁸ Arnau Miró, citizen of Vic, established perpetually to the Jews of Vic a part of a courtyard he had in Vic under Bishop's jurisdiction to build

33. The loans in which guarantees are homes (69) or rents of houses (7) are the 11,7% of the guarantees on goods of the debtor. Llop, Irene. *L'aljama de jueus de Vic...*: 110-111, 353-355.

34. Astruc de Mallorca and Proençal, Jews, lived in Na Calcinera street (ABEV, ACF-4589, f. 7v [1289]; also in a rental of the year 1284: ACF-4588, f. 15v), Jucef de Mallorca lived in Hospital de Jerusalem street (ABEV, ACF-4594, f. 44r [1297]).

35. Llop, Irene; Ollich, Imma. "Espais públics i espais privats del call jueu de Vic: evidències documentals i arqueològiques", *Ausa*, 27-177, (2016): 502-505.

36. Riera, Jaume. *Els poders públics i les sinagogues, segles XIII-XV*. Girona: Patronat Call de Girona, 2006: 169-171.

37. ABEV, ACF-10, f. 370v. See Documentary Annex 2.

38. ABEV, ACF-4586, f. 43r. See Documentary Annex 4.



houses and school (synagogue). The group of Jews mentioned in the document were from all the families established in Vic, and for the first time they acted in a collective form. Their members were related to kinship and economic ties, some families have been 30 years in the village and it was necessary to have a synagogue to be able to lead a Jewish life.

Table 3. List of Jews mentioned in the establishment of the place for the synagogue

Synagogue 1277	Families
David Canviador	De David Canviador
Llobell	
Mossons	
Bonjuà	
Astrugó	
Astruc de Manresa	De Manresa
Salomó, son of Maimó de Manresa	
Vidal Duran	
Proençal	De Mallorca
Jucef de Mallorca	
Bonmacip	De Sa Torre
Eretó	
Bonhome de Torra	
Vidal de Camprodon	De Camprodon
Vidal de Cardona	Unknown

This courtyard with orchard was under Episcopal jurisdiction, and the Bishop's rights were saved. The limits of the place are not clear enough to locate the synagogue:

- the eastern side is limited by part with the orchard and a wall that existed between the courtyard and the orchard of Erumir Berenguer and his wife, the daughter of Bernat Batlle.
- the southern side, by the orchard.



- the western side, by a public way where there were the entrance and the exit.
- the northern, by the houses of Guillem Ral, shoemaker.

In exchange for the annual payment of two *auris* for All Saints' day, Jews could build the *domos et Scholam et quocumque aliud volueritis ad coelum* and may leave the establishment only if they have done works valued at 100 solidos. At the end of the document, it is specified that Miro received 30 solidos for the price of the sale.

The document details the windows that can be built and what dimensions they should have. On the wall of the East a window of a handsapan can be made, in 3 *tapiis* high, and a single window of one handsapan at 3 and a half *tapiis* on the South, at least 12 handsapan distant from the street.

The last point of the document is that of rainwater. Miró will collect rainwater from the middle of the roof of the building were Jewish pray, while the Jews have to collect water from the other side and the other rooftops of the establishment. This information is very suggestive, since on the one hand there is an explicit reference to the female space of the synagogue where women could be and pray, the only so far, and on the other hand, the news of rainwater could relate with the ritual baths or *mikveh*.³⁹

With this first corporate manifestation of the Jews of Vic the Jewish community acted together and the construction of the synagogue made them visible in the Christian community: the Jews were no longer just a few neighbours with tolerated (and necessary) economic activities, but a community with its own and differentiated space. For this reason, the construction of the synagogue leads the opposition of the ecclesiastical establishment immediately.⁴⁰

On 10 January 1278 Berenguer de l'Estany, Vic jury writer, read to six Jews of Vic the denunciation of the Archdeacon Ramon de Meserata (or Marata) requesting to stop the construction of a new synagogue. This was considered an *obra nefandissima*. The Archdeacon denounced the work throwing three stones in the work, following the tradition of Roman law on harmful and illegal buildings. At the moment to carry out the formal complaint, there were three Christian master builders who were already building the construction. Despite the importance and strength of the ecclesiastical institutions of Vic in the 13th century, this opposition of the Canon of the Cathedral to the construction of the synagogue near the Episcopal see, in a site under Episcopal jurisdiction, did not prevent the building of an edifice considered "scandalous" in an Episcopal city. The synagogue was built, and later documents called *domus and magister scholae, iudeorum scholarum*.⁴¹

So far, there is not any archaeological evidence that clearly identifies the synagogue of Vic. Recent studies have been focused in the interpretation of written documentation contrasted with archaeological works in Vic.⁴²

39. Riera, Jaume. *Els poders públics i les sinagogues...*: 186.

40. ABEV, ACF-15, loose folio. See Documentary Annex 5.

41. Ollich, Imma. "Un nou document sobre la 'Scola seu sinagoga iudeorum' de Vic (vers 1978)", *Ausa*, 8 (1978): 257-267; Llop, Irene. "Aportacions...": 145.

42. Llop, Irene; Ollich, Imma. "Espais públics i espais privats ...": 484-492.



The analysis of the documentation allows to situate on a map of Vic the location of the synagogue in *carrer d'en Guiu*. The Guiu street marked the limit between the two jurisdictions of the town, and there was an important problem: the borders in the 13th century document would situate the synagogue in the part that corresponded to the jurisdiction of Montcada, not the Bishop's. Following the document of the establishment of the terrain to build the synagogue, the public street limited the west side of the building, where the entrance and exit could also be found.⁴³ Fortunately, a notation of an Episcopal register shines a light on this aspect: a notation in the "Capbreu de censos de la Mensa Episcopal" (1336), quotes the neighbours of the *via den Guiu*, and exposes that *ex alia parte* there is the *schola iudeorum*, (the synagogue).⁴⁴

A recent archaeological intervention in the zone of the Jewish call, provides information on a structure that does not appear in the notarial records. The excavation in the backyard of a house (Can Franquesa, on occasion of the construction of a garage) presented Roman and Medieval archaeological structures. The archaeologists attribute them a possible hydraulic use, of Roman origin. The remain of sediments indicate the filtering of water, and a constant use of the structure. Nearby, some arcades that open South—and that would communicate with the already disappeared Na Calcinera street— have been located.⁴⁵

The documentary reference to collect the pluvial water to the roof of the synagogue, would reinforce the hypothesis of the vicinity of a building with a tank. It would be possible that, when the Jews had the piece of land, apart from the water resource use, they reuse an ancient hydraulic structure already existent as a tank to provide the necessary water for the ritual bath or *mikveh*.⁴⁶

As a result, we have a more accurate knowledge of the space that the Jewish community occupied. The written documents and the archaeology point out a group of houses and orchards that built up the Jewish quarter; as Jewish families were established they were installed in several streets of the city until they were concentrating around Guiu street at the end of the century and especially in the 14th century; there was the synagogue and nearby, probably, a *mickveh*. The *call* was situated between Montcada castle, Guiu street, Na Calcinera street and the street of the Angels, these last two streets converging to the Portalet, on the wall of the city. The attacks and the destruction during the power struggles of the second half of the 14th century affected mainly the Jewish quarter and community.

43. *ab occidente in carreria publica per quam affrontationem habetis introitum et exitum ad dictum stabilimentum*. ABEV, ACF-4586, f. 43r.

44. ABEV, AEV-812, f. 26v. Medieval documents called the synagogue *schola seu sinagoga iudeorum*.

45. Codina, Dolors; Díaz-Carvajal, Antònia. "Intervenció arqueològica a la plaça de la Pietat, 2 (Vic, Osona)", *II Jornades d'Arqueologia de la Catalunya Central: Vic 13, 14 i 15 desembre 2012*. Vic: Generalitat de Catalunya-Museu Episcopal de Vic, 2014: 62. Pratdesaba, Albert; Pujol, Maria Àngels. "Intervenció arqueològica a Can Franquesa: plaça de la Pietat, 2 (Vic, Osona)". *III Jornades d'Arqueologia de la Catalunya Central: Roda de Ter, 17 i 18 d'octubre de 2014*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura-Museu Arqueològic de l'Esquerda, 2015: 215-220.

46. Llop, Irene; Ollich, Imma. "Espais públics i espais privats...": 489-492.



4. Mobility of the Jews of Vic

The mobility of Jews is an important feature, as businesses contacts and family relationships, especially marriage, facilitated these population changes. These residential changes are one of the main difficulties in establishing the demographics of the community. In Vic, Jews settled there from other communities (Girona, Bagà, Barcelona ...) and they did not completely lose touch with their populations of origin, and the same happened in reverse: when Jews left Vic, they kept their relationships. Sometimes, the Jews would leave Vic for a period of time taking months to years, and after they would return.

Table 4. Mobility of Vic Jews (1267-1312)

Astruc de Camprodon, son of Vidal	Vic (1279-80, 1300, 1304), Caldes Montbui (1281, 1286, 1295, 1298, 1304)
Astruc de Manresa	Vic, Barcelona (1284, 1289), Caldes (1306)
Astruc Proençal and Preciosa	Vic (1284, 1289), Bagà (1304)
Bonhome, son of Bonastruc Satorra	Barcelona (1294)
Bonisto, son of Vidal Duran	Vilafranca del Penedès (1305)
Jucef Llobell	Granollers (1311)
Jucef Vidal	Barcelona (1303-1305)
Mossons	Barcelona (1296)
Sento Ayo	Barcelona (1307)
Taroç Vidal	Barcelona (1288), Vic (1288, 1299), Manresa (1301)
Vidal Duran	Vic (1267), Barcelona (1303), Tarragona (1312)
Vidal Jucef	Vic (1295), Barcelona (1303), Vic (1307)
Vidal Eretó	Vic (1282), Cardona (1311-12)

Barcelona was the main destination of these Jews: Astruc of Manresa (then he went to Caldes de Montbui, where Astruc de Manresa also moved), Bonhome, son of Bonastruc Satorra, Jucef Vidal, Mossons (before his conversion), Sento Ayo, Taroç Vidal (he came back to Vic, and then went to Manresa), Vidal Jucef and Vidal Duran, the only Jew of Vic who moved to Tarragona, the area with less contact with the Jewish community of Vic. Jews from Barcelona had activity in



Vic since 1238, and some Barcelona Jews established in Vic because of marriage. It has to be noted that Jews of Vic were not established in Besalú or Puigcerdà, places with ties with Vic community.

Although few data come from the studied period, during the 1280's an important mobility is documented, and some Jews of Vic established in other places. These Jews were the second or third generation of Jews established in Vic and they moved to towns where they had generally familiar ties. These towns were all of them from the Barcelona *collecta*, and under royal jurisdiction (except Bagà).

The *collecta* was a Catalan intercommunal structure, created for the purpose of tax collection from the Jewish communities. Royal *aljamas* were grouped in four *collectas*, and each one was headed by the largest community in their boundaries: Barcelona, Girona, Lleida and Tortosa.⁴⁷ The Jews of Vic were under the jurisdiction of the Bishop or the Lord of Montcada, so they were not a royal community. It remains unclear the taxes paid by the Jewish community of Vic to their seigniorial administration, but the relocating to royal Jewish communities could be related with the taxes and the extent of royal jurisdiction over Jews in the medieval Crown of Aragon.

Between the end of the 13th century and the beginning of 14th some Jewish families who had been living for two generations in the village moved to other populations, while in Vic remained their descendents and other Jews, individually or with their family, established there. This mobility and the arrival of new inhabitants, had an important impact in the community. Three of the main families of the community in the 13th century —Bonastruc Satorra, David Canviador, de Manresa— lost prominence in the following century. The family of Mallorca became the most important, but it is still unknown how the arrival of new families of diverse origin (Cardona, Perpinya, Lleida, Tudela...) affected the cohesion of the group.

During the 13th century, some Jews from other communities lend in Vic. The first Jews, originally from Barcelona and Girona, installed in the city in the 1240-1250', lended money or in kind. Many of these Jews had familiar ties with the Jews living in Vic, like the family Cabrit. In addition, some Jews established in Vic, lived some time in these cities. The number of loans of the foreign Jews acting in Vic, was lower than the loans made by the Jews of Vic, but the average paid was higher; most lenders were men.⁴⁸ Possibly, the Jews established in Vic could not cover the entire economic demand of the area, but at the end of the 13th century they could do it without relying on the Jews of other communities.

47. This system was very advantageous for the king: it was efficient, with no cost for him, he did not negotiate separately with all Catalan royal communities, and he was not interested in the distribution of tax between the communities of each *collecta*, but there was some tension between the communities; later, this fiscal body assumed additional functions in local self-government. Assis, Yom Tov. *Jewish economy in the Medieval Crown of Aragon, 1213-1327: Money and Power*. Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, 1997: 196-197.

48. Llop, Irene. *L'aljama de jueus de Vic...*: 132-133.



A good example that Jews in Vic did not lose links with the population of origin is that they retain their real estate, especially houses. In the early period of the Jewish community, the first families that fixed their residence in Vic conserved some properties in Girona.

- Regina Cabrita gave her husband Bonastruc license and possession of houses that had in Girona.⁴⁹ Fifteen years later, when Regina Cabrita was living in Vic, she and her sons and daughter confirmed Agnes Gironella (the wife of Raimon Gironella)⁵⁰ the sale in perpetuity that her husband Bonastruc made of three pieces of land they had, with the houses next to the church of Santa Maria de Puelles of Girona.⁵¹ The sale price was 210 *solidos* from Barcelona.⁵²
- Issac Cento, Jew from Girona, gave Salamó, son of Bonjueu, 140 *auris* on both fields and on the houses of the deceased Bonastruc Cento and his wife Bonadona in the Pla of Girona. This Jew confirmed and approved the Jewish Hebrew instrument sales made with his wife Bellaire and son Sullam.⁵³
- The two following documents are related to Eretó, son of Regina and Bonastruc, Jews from Vic, and his wife Dolça. Dolça gave 81 *solidos* and 3 *diners* of the sale that her husband made of a quarter of the orchard and house in Girona, in a place called Gironella de Pla, and another one situated in the site of Girona called Mercadal. The boundaries of this house are included in Hebrew letter.⁵⁴ Eretó and his wife preserved undamaged Meir, his brother from Girona, and all the assets, from the sale of the house to Maimó Manresa and his wife Mira in the city of Girona.⁵⁵

49. 8 June 1238. ABEV, ACF-2, f. 110r.

50. When her husband died, Agnès professed in the convent of Sant Daniel in Girona, in 1269, where the prioress was her daughter Cecília. Roca, Maria Carme. *Abadesses i prioros a la Catalunya Medieval*. Barcelona: Editorial Base, 2014: 61-63.

51. Santa Maria de les Puelles and Sant Genís were two small churches arranged symmetrically in the western part of the old Mercadal, in front of the steps of the cathedral. The church disappeared in the 17th century, when the Casa Pastors was built. Santa Maria de les Puelles was situated in the area of La Força Vella, next to the towers and Sobreportes portal. Canal, Josep; Canal, Eduard; Nolla, Josep Maria; Sàgrera, Jordi. "El palau comtal de Girona: De la fundació a la desaparició (circa 500-segona meitat del segle XII)". *Miscel·lània en honor de Pere Marqués*. Barcelona: Diputació de Girona, Patronat Francesc Eiximenis, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2010: 229-233.

52. The house limited on the East with a house and the street, on the South with the houses of Bonanat of Besalú, on the West with Berenguera and her husband's houses, and on the north with the wall of the church of Santa Maria de Puelles. 3 December 1253. ABEV, ACF-5, ff. 104r-105r.

53. 5 March 1259. ABEV, ACF-6, ff. 202r-v.

54. 13 January 1260. ABEV, ACF-8, f. 145r.

55. 20 December 1277. ABEV, ACF-4586, f. 56v.



Belatedly, the possession of houses in Barcelona are related to Ester, wife of Astruc d'Hispania,⁵⁶ Jucef Darahi⁵⁷ and Astruc de Manresa.⁵⁸

Another reading on these real estate would lead us to talk about family tensions generated for the possessions (father and son, grandfather and grandson), and the patrimonial transmission within the marriage, pre-eminently the role of the woman in this transmission.

5. Marriages and matrimonial strategies

The family is a central institution an focus of Jewish life: "A man shall leave his mother and father and leave to his wife, and they will become one flesh" (Genesis 2:24).

The model of power relations in the Jewish family is patriarchy, which provides the dominant role of men in the family. Women are subjected to their father, and when they got married, they were under the control of their husband. Despite the intention to keep women far of the public sphere, they were the keystone of the transmissions and maintenance of the Jewish familiar heritage.

Marriage is, for the Jewish religion, the perfect social status and its purpose is procreation, justified in the divine precept "be fruitful and multiply" (Genesis 1:28). The husband must feed and maintain women, gives her accommodation, care and pay their ransom (if it was the woman captive), and also must have sexual relations. However, the woman lose those rights if she leaves the marital home without any legal cause, or if she accepts the repudiation document when the divorce has already been accepted by the court. The husband must also pay the funeral of his wife and children remained after his death. If the husband dies first, the wife can live in the marital home until the time of another marriage. The husband is entitled to receive all the gains of her work, and also the usufruct of women goods (considered a compensation to the duty of the husband to maintain the wife) and has the right to inherit property after the death of the woman. For their part, women must live in the marital home (unless it has been stipulated otherwise, or it is not possible for

56. Houses of his husband in de Jewish of Barcelona to Vidal Cervera, with Hebrew documents. ACF-4586, f. 80r (26 March 1279, ABEV).

57. Jucef gave to his father-in-law Bonmacip his houses in Barcelona. Samuel was Bonastruc Satorra's brother, and Bonmacip —called Naaman— lived in Barcelona. ABEV, ACF-20, f. 69v (9 May 1282). Jucef Darahí, Sicilian established in Barcelona, was Issac Darahi's son. In 1285, his father requested the king to prohibit the administration of his estate to his son Jucef, who was a player and a sink. Regné, Jean. *History of the Jews in Aragon. Regesta and Documents 1213-1327*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1910/1978: 242.

58. Maimó de Forn had a part of his house and a cellar in the Jewish quarter of Barcelona, where he lived, and Astruc Addeo, alias Astruc de Manresa, pretended to have rights on the buildings; the King ordered the Batlle not to allow Maimó be disturbed in the possession of his property. Regné, Jean. *History of the Jews...*: 256. Astruga, daughter of Astruc of Manresa, was married with Abraham de Forn, and their son was Maimó.



reasons of health or similar), take care of home and children, and have sex with him.

In Judaism there is no marriage without the signature of the *ketubbah*, the marriage contract. The couple can not make marital life until the *ketubbah* is extended. Signed by two men, acting as witnesses, the bride or her family saved as evidence of the obligations that the husband has taken towards it, as they are laid down detail.

This is the most important document for Jewish women, since their only real safe and legacy were the dowry she had received by contract. The text of the *ketubbah*, in Hebrew and Aramaic, begins with the date and place of marriage and then the names of the groom, the bride and the proposition "Be my wife according to the law of Moises and Israel." Then follow the usual clauses: the basic part of the ketubba is the amount groom gives the bride (*mohar*); she accepts and provides the dowry (*nedunya*),⁵⁹ given by her father. The private property of the wife (*nikse melug*) is fully given to the bride, and the husband enjoy usufruct during the marriage; groom promises an additional gift (*tosefet*), that it was social and voluntary unlike the quantity that contributes the groom, that was legal and compulsory; the groom gives guarantee of all, and to ensure that the document does not base in speculations, it requires the formalisation of the act of acquisition (*quinyan*); the document finalises with the usual formulas of conclusion and the signature of the witnesses.

The information of marriages of Jews Vic in the thirteenth century, provides three major trends:

1. Endogamy: Marriage with members of the own community. In the case of Vic, we find examples of marriages between cousins or a second marriage with a relative of the deceased spouse's very direct, which would guarantee even closer ties between families.
2. Exogamy: The marriage with Jews from the same social level but from other communities.⁶⁰
3. Second marriage: Second marriage provides guarantees to women.

5.1 Marriage

The marriage is a contract, and a requirement for the validity of the marriage is the consent of the parties. By those who were married, there was no freedom of choice: the attendants to choose the groom or the bride are the parents or an intermediary (*sadkan*). The documents states the little margin of election of the spouse: in 1287, a loan informs about the debt between Llobell Cerç, Jew of Vic,

59. During the marriage, the dowry belonged to the husband and he might derive all benefits from it. He might even sell it for the period of his lifetime.

60. Planas, Sílvia. "La vida cotidiana en el call de Girona en el siglo XIV: Nuevas aportaciones documentales", *Juderías y sinagogas de la Sefarad medieval: En memoria de José Luis Lacave Riaño*. Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla la Mancha, 2002: 252-294.



and Issac Salvadell, Jew of Cardona who found a bride for him.⁶¹ Sometimes, the agreements to marry a son or a daughter could be modified.⁶²

Jews from Vic had strong family ties and, although the members of these families were acting independently, were closely related and there were numerous concessions, donations and transfers between family members. The four main families that settled in Vic were also those that had a higher credit activity.

13 marriages are documented in the 13th century, 4 of them in the period 1231-1277, in a diversity of documentary typology: loans, acknowledgements, cessions, receipts and promises. The gathered documents ascertain that the protagonists of these marriages were representatives of the main families of the Jewish community of Vic, and let us know aspects as the approximate date of the marriage, the name of the grooms and their family, the place of origin and the established amount. However, registers show few information about other topics, like the age of the grooms are unclear.

Table 5. Marriages documented in *Libri Judeorum* (1253-1296)

Year	Marriage	Amount	Typology
1253	Bonhome (son of Abraham de Cardona) and Astruga (daughter of David Canviador)	900 sbd	Loan
1254	Llobell Cerç (son of David Canviador) and Dolça (daughter of Bonastruc Satorra)	300 sbd	Loan
1267	Proençal de Girona and Dolça (daughter of Bonastruc Satorra)	480 sbt	Loan
1271	Bonhome (son of Bonastruc Satorra) and Goig	Assigned debts (dowry)	Cession
1282	Benvenist Vidal (son of Vidal Duran) and Regina (daughter of Maimó de Manresa)	500 sbt	Cession
1284	Menahem (son of Vidal Duran) and Astruga (daughter of Astruc de Manresa)	4.000 sbt	Acknowledgement
1284	Bonjueu (son of Astruc de Manresa)	350 sbt	Acknowledgement

61. Of 100 solidos *ratione laboris et missiorum vestri de illa uxor vocatur Bela de Podio Ceritano quam michi promissistis dare*. ABEV, ACF-4589, f. 9r.

62. Astruc de Manresa promised Menahem, son of Vidal Duran, a dowry of 4.000 *solidos* from Astruga, his daughter (ACF-4588, f. 19r [1 September 1284]). Finally, Menahem married with Goig, daughter of Bonjueu and David Canviador's granddaughter, whereas his ancient promise married with Abraham de Forn.



1285	Bonjueu Pesat and Regina (daughter of Jucef de Mallorca)	1.500 sbt	Receipt / Promise
1288	Bonisto (son of Vidal Duran) and Regina (daughter of Maimó de Manresa)	1.050 sbt, 110 sbt	Cession
1290	Astruc Proençal and Sara (daughter of Jucef de Mallorca)	123 alfonsins	Receipt
1292	Menahem (son of Vidal Duran) and Goig (daughter of Bonjueu, son of David Canviador)	1.530 sbt	Receipt
1292	Abraham des Forn and Astruga (daughter of Astruc de Manresa)	3.000 sbt	Loan
1295- 1296	Astruc (son of Bonjueu Vidal) and Bonadona (daughter of Astruc de Manresa)	3.000 sbt	Cession / Receipt

The marriage between cousins is documented in 1254, when Llobell married with his cousin Goig. This was not the first marriage of Llobell, who married with Vidala, sister of Goig, in 1278.⁶³ This marriage united the first Jewish families settled in Vic. The family of Goig and David Canviador, and Regina and Bonastruc Satorra arrived—with their sons and daughters—at the same time in Vic, and Goig and Regina were sisters. They are the first Jewish to marry their descendants in the place where they want to establish, and the marriages close, even more, the family ties. They were the most preeminent families in the 13th century in the Jewish community. Goig and David married a daughter and a son in two years, and Regina and Bonastruc married two daughters and a son in 17 years; the dowry oscillates between 300 and 900 solidos.

According to the biblical law of levirate (Dt. 25, 5-10), if a woman remained widowed without having children, the man's unmarried brother had to marry the widow, in order to provide an heir for the deceased. A widow would marry a brother-in-law, and the first son of that union was considered the legal descendent of her dead husband. If a man denied to get married, the ceremony of *halitsa* freed the woman. Regina, daughter of Maimó de Manresa, married Bevenist Vidal in 1282, and six years later she married the brother of his deceased husband, Bonistó.

The marriage with members of other Jewish communities was not unusual. During the studied period, marriages with Jewish people of Girona, Barcelona, Puigcerdà, Vilafranca, Cardona, Bagà, Sant Celoni and Besalú are registered.

63. ABEV, ACF-4586, f. 41.



Some of these marriages supposed that the daughter moved to the city of her husband. The following diagram reflects the origin of the foreign husbands and wives who married with members of leading families in Vic, places where often fixed residence:

Table 6. Cities with marital ties with major families settled in Vic (13th and 14th century)

Family of Bonastruc Satorra	
1st generation: Girona	
2nd generation: Girona-Vic, Girona	
3d generation: Barcelona, Puigcerdà	
-Lived in Vic, some sons lived in Girona and Barcelona (related to a Sicilian Jew settled in Barcelona)	
Family of David Campsoris	
1st generation: Girona	
2nd generation: Girona-Vic, Girona	
3d generation: Men: Cardona Women: Besalú, Puigcerdà	
-Lived in Vic.	
4th generation: Barcelona	
-Lived in Vic and Barcelona	
Family de Manresa	
1st generation: <i>Hispania</i>	
2nd generation: Vic	
3d generation: Barcelona, Torroella	
-Lived in Vic	
4a generation: Men: Barcelona, Vilafranca, Solsona, Barcelona	
-Lived in Vic, Solsona	
Family de Mallorca	
1st generation: <i>Mallorca</i> , Sant Celoni	
-Lived in Vic	
2nd generation: Girona	
-Lived in Vic	
3d generation: Men: Girona Woman: Cardona	
4th generation: Castelló, La Bisbal	
-Lived in Vic, Barcelona	
5th generation: Barcelona, Girona	
-Lived in Vic	
6th generation: Man: Girona, Torroella, Barcelona Woman: Lleida, Girona	
-Lived in Vic	



It has been located a reference to the *arayuz* in Vic notarial records in which identifies it with the Hewbrew sponsalici. Arnau d'Aragall and his woman Ramona, of Sant Martí de Riudeperes, owed to Bonafilla, Jewish, wife of Jucef Pesat, 25 solidos, *quos nos a te de tuo arayuuz, qui secundum legem abrahicham dicitur sponsalicium, puro mutuo confitemur recepisse*.⁶⁴

Therefore, at the end of the 13th century, the fact to save an amount of money (and documents) in a locked box, without access for the woman, is documented.⁶⁵ This is, probably, the most ancient reference of a tradition between the Jewish Catalan that seems that it does not correspond to any Christian tradition of the period. This is widely documented in the 14th century also in populations like Valls, L'Aleixar and Santa Coloma de Queralt. This habit is called *aarayuç* (responsibility in Hebrew). In Vic, a document of the last *Liber Judeorum* explains that this was a habit of Girona Jews, that consisted in leaving a quantity of money in a box with two locks, of which the father has one key and the son-in-law, the other one.⁶⁶ The box (*techa*) was at father-in-law's home, or at any intermediary's home; the money was saved as a guarantee for the woman in case she became widow or divorced.⁶⁷

5.2 Children

It is very difficult to establish the number of children in Jewish families of Vic, because of the nature of the sources. In 13th century, two families, David Canviador and Bonastruc Satorra, had at least seven children. There are three families with 5 sons and two with 4, and then we would have seven families with 3 children, six with 2 and ten families with 1 child.

These data indicate that many people only know a child, generally referred to sons and daughters who are married in Vic and the rest of children are not mentioned. Furthermore, the families with more children are the ones that established early in the town, and many of their children remained in Vic, where they were active and, therefore, they appear longer and more often in the documentation.

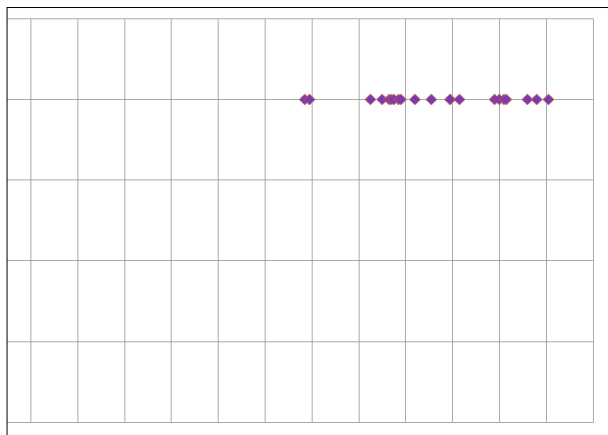
64. 22 January 1266. ABEV, ACF-4583, f. 2r.

65. ABEV, ACF-4591, ff. 21r-v.

66. ABEV, ACF-4606, loose folio (1341).

67. Llop, Irene. "La comunitat jueva de Girona a través de la documentació de Vic (s. XIII i XIV)". *Temps i Espais de la Girona jueva. Actes del Simposi Internacional celebrat a Girona 23, 24 i 25 de març de 2009*. Girona: Patronat del Call de Girona, 2011: 216-217.





GRAPH 2. NUMBER OF (DOCUMENTED) CHILDREN IN JEWISH FAMILIES

Through the century, the documents mentioned just a case of orphanage and tutelage. An important Jew of the community of Vic, Bonjueu, son of David Canviador, died in 1284. His death led to many problems for the tutelage of his children David, Salomó, Fonell and Goig. Her widow, Preciosa, and his brothers David and Salomó wanted to pass the tutelage to Astruc, son of David Canviador, and Jucef de Mallorca, because the grandfather was too old. The *baiulus* of the Lord of Montcada designed Astruc and Jucef as a guardianship and administrator of their goods.⁶⁸ The crash of interests between the widowed, the orphaned and the tutors, which controlled the property of the minors, was common.

5.3 Divorce, widowhood and second marriage

The Jewish marriage may end up to the death of a spouse or divorce, that was accepted. Any divorce has been documented. On the other hand, widows and second marriages are present in records.

The widows, even the converted, demanded the return of the dowry after the death of her husband. This would be the situation of Astruga, widow of Issac de Manresa. Her sons Maimó and Astruc recognized she had the right over 300 *aureos* on the assets of her late husband, by reason of betrothal.

Widows or widowers not always opted for a second marriage. The following table collects the names of the remarried men and women.

68. ABEV, ACF-4588, f. 12v (1284 June 28).

Table 7. Second marriage within Jews of Vic.

Family of Bonastruc Satorra
Llobell Cerç = 1 Dolça, daughter of David Canviador (cousin) = 2 Vidala, daughter of David Canviador (cousin) = 3 Bella, from Puigcerdà
Eretó = 1 Dolça, widow of Astruc Deuslosalv, from Barcelona = 2 Ester, widow of Bonet de Puigcerdà
Family of David Canviador
Astruga (sister of Goig, wife of Astruc, son of David Canviador) = 1 Vidal Messina = 2 Astruc Bonafè
Family of Mallorca
Astruga = 1 Astruc de Mallorca = 2 Jucef Salomó Pesat, from Sant Celoni

Llobell Cerç married 3 times (his first and second wives were cousins), and Eretó married with two widows. Within women, Astruga, from de family of David Canviador, and Astruga, from de family of Mallorca, married again.

6. Conclusion

The Jewish community of Vic was an active and dynamic community that has found its place in a town that grew while the community was consolidated. The first sporadic activities of Jews in the city went to a group of few families who resided in Vic throughout the century. The number of Jews who acted in Vic increased during the first half of the 13th century, and some Jews settled there temporarily. They came from places with strong and old Jewish communities —Barcelona and Girona— where they preserved properties, specially houses. Economic and family ties were maintained within these communities.

Families who currently lived in the city were the ones with most credit activity. When the number of Jews stabilized and increased the economic vitality, they also increased their presence on the documentation time where the *Judeorum* series begins. At the end of the thirteenth century the community had its peak, for both the Jewish demography (became fifteen families) as the major economic activity carried out. The matrimonial strategies (endogamy, exogamy and second marriage) allowed to cohere and configure a community.

1277 was a significant year in the history of the Jewish community of Vic, as they built the synagogue of the community. The synagogue was located in Guiu street, that agglutinated the Jewish population and concentrated them in a determinate



space, passing from a reduced and dispersed population to a larger and more concentrated community.

The end of the 13th century was the best moment for the Jewish population of Vic. The community, that was an *aljama* around 1317, was vital during the first half of the 14th century. The changing community resisted until 1391. In that year, the last remaining Jews in the city were converted, putting an end to a story that had begun nearly two hundred years before.

Knowledge of particular Jewish communities has a great importance to have a broader perspective of the history of the Catalan Jewish communities, because each community has their own history, sources, studies and distinctive features, and is necessary to put them in context. The case of the Jews of Vic, a community with almost 200 years of very well documented history, can serve to deepen in the study of the Catalan Jews, in particular in the research of the study of the origins and development of Jewish settlement in the 13th century in interior Catalonia, based on notarial records. However, broader perspective and parallel studies concerning other Jewish communities, as well by focusing on a regional framework, is possible from knowledge of the local history of these communities.



Appendix 1. Rental Documents

Year	Signature	Folio	Christian owner	Jewish rental	Location
1252	ACF-5	153r	Guillem Llorenç and Brunissenda, his wife	Regina Cabrita, wife of Bonastruc Satorra	Houses in Mercadal
1252	ACF-6	52v	Brunissenda, G. Llorenç' wife, and her brother Guillem Illa	Bonastruc	House with shutter, cortal and workroom, in Mercadal (was owned by Guillem Argemir)
1253	ACF-6	134v	Berenguer of Posa and Brunissenda, his wife	David Canviador and Goig, his wife	House in Vic, under Montcada jurisdiction
1280	ACF-4586	104v	Sibil·la, wife of Berenguer of Vilafreser	Jucef de Mallorca	Houses under where Sibil·la and Berenguer live, and houses of Arnau de Mon, in the street of Bernat Gayol
1280	ACF-4586	107v	Bernat de Mur and Ferrer Illa, Brunissenda Llorenç executors	Llobell Cerç	Houses with orchard, except the workroom, in Vic under Montcada jurisdiction
1284	ACF-4588	10v	Pere Ripoll, widow Beatriu de Sala's attorney	Astruc d'Hispania	Houses under Montcada jurisdiction, nearby Brunissenda Llorenç houses
1284	ACF-4588	10v	Pere Ripoll, widow Beatriu de Sala's attorney	Bonmacip	Houses under Montcada jurisdiction, nearby Brunissenda Llorenç houses
1284	ACF-4588	15v	Pere Rossell, priest of Múnter, and his mother, Maria	Jucef de Mallorca	Houses in Calcinera street, where remain Proença (Jew), and Català, under Montcada jurisdiction
1284	ACF-4588	4r	Bernat de Mur and Ferrer d'Illa, Brunissenda Llorenç executors	Jucef de Mallorca	Houses under Montcada jurisdiction, nearby Roquet, except the workroom



Year	Signature	Folio	Christian owner	Jewish rental	Location
1286	ACF-4588	36v	Ramon Nadal and Ramon de Sala, Pere Miró executors	Bonmicip	Houses that belonged to the deceased Pere Miró. Its borders were: hoses of Pere Miquel (the southern side), houses and orchard of Pere de Moia, deceased canon of Vic (western side). Rents the house, except the basement
1288	ACF-4589	27r	Bertran Urdi and his son, Ferrer	Benaia Llobell	House in the Hospital de Sant Joan street, under Montcada jurisdiction (no census). Its borders were: houses of Guillem Foguet (the eastern side), houses of Ramon Jurdí (the southern side) and a street (the western side)
1288	ACF-4589	27v	Egidi Maeller, Berenguer Blanch and his wife Simona's attorney	Bonmicip	Houses in Peregrí street, under Montcada jurisdiction (no census). Its borders were: Street (the eastern side), house of Arnau de Comella (the southern side), another street (the western side) and the house of Pere de Matavaques (the northern side)
1289	ACF-4589	34r	Pere Simó Examenó and Ramona, his wife	Vidal Taroç	Houses and orchards under Montcada jurisdiction , nearby the houses owned by Maria Llorenç
1290	ACF-4590	20r	Egidi Maceller, Simona and Berenguer's attorney	Bonmicip	Houses in Peregrí street, under Montcada jurisdiction, where Arnau de Comelles and Pere de Matavaques also owned houses
1293	ACF-4590	45r	Guillem Ramon de Terrers	Sento Ayo	Houses of Pere de Pontarró, in Sant Joan de Jerusalem street, under Montcada jurisdiction



Year	Signature	Folio	Christian owner	Jewish rental	Location
1294	ACF-4591	13v	Berenguer Terrer	Bonmacip	Two houses, the tenant can open a wall or garden wall, an entrance gate to come in or exit from the houses, and close the hatch
1294	ACF-4591	14r	Jaume de Pou	Goig, wife of Gràcia Cap	Houses in Hospital de Jerusalem street, under Montcada jurisdiction. Its borders were: houses of the owners (the Eastern side), houses of Huguer (the western side)
1299	ACF-4591	8v	Beatriu, widow of Berenguer Tayla	Bonmacip	Houses in Vic, in Hospital de Jerusalem street, under Montcada jurisdiction, except the basement



Appendix 2 Selected documents

Document number 1:

1 December 1265.

Bonmacip, son of Bonastruc de Bonissac, transfer rights to Bernat Barrat against Llobell Cerç, because of beatings and insults made in the synagogue.

Arxiu Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic, Arxiu de la Curia Fumada-10, f. 370v.

Bonmassip, iudeus filius Bon Astrug de Bonisach, bono et libero cum hoc publico instrumento dono et cedo tibi Bernardo Barrati et cui velis in perpetuum totum integrum locum meum iura voces et acciones que habere et habeo debeo contra Lobel Cerç, iudeus et contra bona ipsius, ratione ipsius percussione vituperii de sonoris et iniurie que mihi fecit in sinagoga idem Lobel (...) ac contra ipsum et bona sua possis agere et uti que admodum ego possem ante huiusmodi (...) promittimus coram quicquid super et singulis promissorum (...) dixeris faciendum me (...).

Testes: Petrus de Tolosa et Berengarius de Stagno.

Document number 2:

15 December 1265, Vic.

Brunissenda Llorenç acquitted Llobell Cerç, Jew from Vic, by some words.

Arxiu Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic, Arxiu de la Curia Fumada-4583, f. 1v.

Brunissendis Laurentia, per me et per omnes filios consanguineos amicos et parentes meos, in hec publico instrumento solvo, remitto et perpetuo penitus diffinio sine aliquo retentu tibi Lobel Cerç, iudeo, et tuis, omnes questiones, demandas et querimonias quas vobis faciebam ante facere poteram vel de te habebam usque ad hanc presentem diem ratione verborum vel quacumque alia ratione. Super quibus omnibus questionibus, demandis et querimoniis antedictis facio per met et meos et per omnes supradictos tibi et tuis finem perpetuum et pactum de non petenda sicut melius dici vel intelligo ad voluntatem tuam et tuorum. Que quidem et cetera.

Document number 3:

19 August 1277, Vic.

Arnau Miró, citizen of Vic, established perpetually to the Jews of Vic part of a courtyard he has in Vic under Bishop's jurisdiction to build houses and school (synagogue). The annual payment to Miró is established in two florins for All Saints. The seller has received 30 solidos.



Arxiu Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic, Arxiu de la Curia Fumada-4586, f. 43r. Published in: Corbella, Ramon. *L'aljama de jueus de Vic...*: 20-21, 169-170; Ollich, Imma. "Un nou document..." : 265-266.

Arnaldus Mironis, civis vicensis, pono et stabilio, laudo et concedo in perpetuum vobis Davidi Campsoris, et Lobello, et Mussones, et Bono Iudadeo, et Astrugono, filiis eiusdem, et Astrugono, filio Issachi de Minorissa, et Bono Mancipio, et Provinciali, et Vitali Durandi, et Jucephono de Mayoris, et Eretono, et Vitali de Cardono, et Bono Homini de Turri, et Vitali de Camporotundo, et Salamoni filio Maymonis de Minorissa, quondam, et quibus volueritis, quamdam partem terrae illius orti mei quem possideo et teneo in villa Vici, sub dominio Domini vicensis Episcopi, prout dictum patium sive pars est a me vobis fixurata et assignata. Et affrontat ab oriente in alia parte residui orti mei et in pariete qui est inter dictum patium et ortum Berengarii Erumir et uxoris eius que fuit filia Bernardi Baiuli, a meridie in residuo orti mei, ab occidente in carreria publica per quam affrontationem habetis introitum et exitum ad dictum stabilimentum, et a circo in domibus Guillemi de Regali sabaterii, in quo patio possitis facere domos et Scholam et quodcumque aliud volueritis ab abisso usque ad coelum, et etiam eum vendere et stabilire et alienare si volueritis, salvo iure in omnibus et dominio Domini Episcopi vicensis, cui Domino ego per me et meos promitto vobis quod faciam et tradam quatuor paria caponum quod dictus Dominus Episcopus accipit annuatim inter dictum patium quod vobis stabilio et residuum dicti orti et quaedam sabilimenta in quibus sunt domus constructae quas per dictum Dominum Episcopum ibidem teneo sine omni dampno vestro et quocumque volueritis. Et vos et quilibet alii post vos tenentes dictum patium reddatis mihi et meis perpetuo a festo Omnium Sanctorum primo venturo ad unum annum et deinde annuatim in eodem festo dos aureos boni auri et iusti ponderis. Et nihil aliud inde iam reddere teneamini nisi dictos dos aureos quos nullo cassu contingente fallere possunt. Hoc salvo a vobis et retento, quod si volueritis vos vel alii post vos tenentes dictum stabilimentum dimittere possitis hoc facere, dum cum opus deconstrans C solidos monete barchinonense de terno per vos ibi factum mihi remaneat factum, deinde reamanente mihi dicto opere C solidos dictum censum reddere iam non teneamini.

Item in illo cantone ex parte orientis per tantum quantum extendetur paries quam ibi facietis a pariete dicti Berengarii Erumir usque ad aliam parietem quam faceritis inter istud stabilimentum et residuum orti mei possitis facere fenestram spatio unius palmi a tribus tapiis ultra fundamentum in altum et non inferius.

Item a dicto etiam cantone in pariete quam ibi facietis versus meridiem possitis facere unicum fenestram spatio unius palmi a tribus tapiis et dimidia ultra fundamenta et non inferius, in altum tantum quantum placuerit, dum cum ipsam fenestram versus dictam partem meridiei feceritis infra spatium XII palmorum a dicta carreria.

Item ego et mei recolligamus omnes aquas pluviales quae discurrerint de medietate illius loci in quo iudaei seu mulieres iudaeae stabunt et orabunt ibidem, et vos et alii recolligatis omnes alias aquas ex residuis tectis dicti stabilimenti.

Et sic promitto sub forma praedicta facere tenere et servare dictum pactum in perpetuum salvo iure et dominio dicti Domini Episcopi. Pro pretio huius vendicionis accipio a vobis triginta solidos barchinonense de terno pro quibus renuntio et cetera. Beneficio legis quatenus et etcetera. Et hoc iuro.

Testes: Bernardus de Sotsrocha et Phiplippus de Sotsrocha.



Document number 4:

10 January 1278, Vic.

Ramon de Meserata, Archdeacon of Vic, denounced the construction of a Jewish synagogue in the name of the church and the city.

Arxiu Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic, Arxiu de la Curia Fumada-15, loose folio. Published in: Ollich, Imma. "Un nou document" ...: 267; Riera, Jaume. *Els poders públics...*: 243.

Noverint universi quod Raimundus de Meserata, archidiaconus vicensis, fecit legi per me, Berengarium de Stagno, scriptorem subscriptum, Davidi Campsoris, Bono Mancipius, Lobellono Circii et Bono Iudeo, fratribus, et Astrugono de Camprotundo et Bono Homini, iudeos vicenses qui presentes erant, quandam cedulam papiri cuius series talis est:

« Nos Raimundus de Meserata, archidiaconus vicensis, videntes quod in civitate vicense de novo construitur seu edificatur scola que vulgariter dicitur Sinagoga iudeorum, attendentes propter hoc contra Deum et iusticiam et canonicas sanctiones et in magnum scandalum totius fidei catholice; nos quidem archidiaconus predictus, presente in dicta civitate vicense, in loco ubi dicta scola seu sinagoga iudeorum contra Deum et iusticiam construitur, ne videamini eternitatem in tanto malo consentire et alienam culpam facere propriam; volentes etiam contradicere hiis qui contra Deum et iusticiam militantur, et specialiter dictum opus nefandissimum impedire, per iactum seu iactus lapilli vel lapillorum vobis, Guillemo de Viridigerio, Petri de Mora et Poncio, magistris ibidem operantibus vel in posterum operari volentibus, novum opus denunciamus; quam denunciacionem facimus et facere intendimus ut per hoc Sancto Petro sedis vicensis totique clero et populo civitatis eiusdem et Sancte Universali ecclesie ius suum contra tan nefandissimum opus in posterum conservetur ; et si contra predictam denunciacionem novi operis, per iactum lapillorum factum, aliquis ulterius acceptarent aliquid operaris, sencientes ex hoc, nos et ecclesiam vicensem, clerum et populum catholicum civitatis eiusdem universalemque fidem catholicam enormiter agravatos et etiam scandalizatos, nomine nostro et omnium adherencium michi ac omnium volencium in hac donacione consentire, ex tantis et tam notoriis gravaminibus ad Sedem Apostolicam in hiis scriptis appellamus et instamus apostolos postulamus, ponentes nos et omnes nobis adherentes in hoc facto, et omnia bona nostra, et totum ius ecclesie in civitatis vicensis sub proteccionem et deffensione dicte sedis apostolice».

Set antequam ego scriptor legerem predictam cedulam, predictus archidiaconus, denunciando dictum novum opus, proiessit in dicto opere III lapillos. Et de hoc et de dicta lectione precepit sibi et vicensis ecclesie et omnibus quorum interest et erit fieri publicum instrumentum.

Quod fuit factum III idus ianuarii anno predicto, presentibus testibus Guillelmo de Fontanelis, Guillelmo de Sala et Petro qui moratur cum dicto archidiacono, et Bernardo de Nogeria, sacerdote.

